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ON SYRIAN CHRISTIAN HERITAGE

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GEEVARGHESE PANICKER

**An Historical Introduction
to the
Syriac Liturgy**



ST. EPHREM ECUMENICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE (SEERI)
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AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SYRIAC LITURGY

GEEVARGHESE PANICKER

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An Historical Introduction to the Syriac Liturgy

CHAPTER I

1. Preliminary Notes on Liturgical Families	5
2. Oriental Liturgics	5
3. The Antiochian Group	6
4. The Alexandrian Group	7
5. The Liturgies of the Occident	7

CHAPTER II

1. The Three Syriac Liturgies	8
2. The West Syrian Liturgy	8
3. The Structure of the Service of the Holy Qurbano	9
4. Detailed Analysis of the Eucharistic Liturgy of the West Syrian Rite	10
5. The West Syrian Eucharistic Liturgy — An Appraisal	32

CHAPTER III

1. The East Syrian Liturgy	39
2. A detailed Analysis of the East Syrian (Chaldean) Eucharistic Liturgy	39

CHAPTER I

1. Preliminary Notes on Liturgical Families

The Christian liturgy has taken, following the churches, diverse forms. The principle of this diversity should not be sought in the language used nor in the dogmatic confession of those who practise it. Different liturgies are celebrated in the same language; so too one and the same liturgy can be practised both by different Christian denominations. The principle of distinction, atleast in the beginning, was geographical.

Thus it happened that the liturgies are divided as Oriental (Eastern) and Occidental (Western).

2. Oriental Liturgies

The characteristic of the Oriental Churches is that each Oriental Church uses a number of different anaphoras (corresponding to the Latin 'Canon'); structurally these anaphoras are not different. It is common to distinguish between two groups of oriental liturgies corresponding to the two ancient patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria. Their respective anaphoras are distinguished by the place given to the intercessory prayers and Epiclesis. The prayers of intercession for the members of the church both the living and the dead, terminate the anaphora of the Antiochian group of liturgies while they follow immediately the initial action of thanksgiving and precede the *Sanctus* in the mass of the Egyptian group; the epiclesis is an invocation of the Holy Spirit in order that he may come to consecrate the "oblata" (what is offered); it is placed after the narrative and anamnesis in the mass of the Syrian group, while the mass of the Egyptian group contains two of them one before the institution narrative, the other after the anamnesis.

6 THE SYRIAC LITURGY

3. The Antiochian Group

a) SYRIAN RITE OF ANTIOCH (Jacobites, Re-united Syrians) or the West Syrian rite.

b) MARONITE RITE: Most Scholars consider this to be variant of the above (some disagree), very "latinized" in some respects: used only by the Maronite Catholics of Lebanon and Syria, in Syriac with some Arabic.

c) BYZANTINE RITE: The liturgy of Constantinople (Byzantium) is the result of many influences, notably of Antioch and Jerusalem. The *Byzantine Rite* is now used by all the Eastern Orthodox Churches and by the Catholic Melkites, Ruthenians (Ukrainians, etc), Rumanians and others. Principal languages: Greek, Slavonic, Rumanian, Arabic.

d) ARMENIAN RITE: The special liturgy of the Church of Armenia arose from a combination of Syrian and Cappadocian elements, within a frame work taken from Jerusalem. In course of time it was modified by Byzantine and Latin influences. The *Armenian* rite of today is used by the Armenian Church not in union with a Catholic Church and the Catholic minority, in the classical form of the Aamenian language.

c) EAST SYRIAN OR CHALDEAN: (Sometimes called 'Nestorian') Most of the Scholars are of opinion that the people of Mesopotomia were evangelized mainly from Antioch, and their liturgy, still very archaic, seems to have taken shape at Edessa. Some scholars like W. F. Macomber are of opinion the Maronite and the East Syrian Rites are in origin independent developments of the ancient Edessene rite overwhelmingly influenced by borrowings from the Syrian and Latin rites. It is now represented by

1) THE CHALDEAN OR EAST SYRIAN RITE: This is used, in Syriac by the Nestorians in Iraq, Persia and Syria and by the Chaldean Catholics, mostly in Iraq.

2) SYRO-MALABAR RITE: This form of the above is some ways extremely latinized. At present an attempt is being made to recover the original rite amidst a lot of confusion and opposition.

4. The Alexandrian Group

The original Greek liturgy of Alexandria, translated into Coptic (Egyptian), underwent strong monastic and Syrian influences, and subsequently was further revised and reformed. It is now known as:

a) THE COPTIC RITE This is that of the indigenous Christians of Egypt and their small Catholic minority. Coptic is its normal language, but a good deal of Arabic has been introduced.

b) ETHIOPIAN RITE The liturgy of the national church of Ethiopia and of a small body of catholics is a close relative of the above. It is celebrated in Ge'ez now a dead language.

5. Liturgies of the Occident

- a) Roman rite
- b) The Ambrosian rite
- c) The Mozarabic rite
- d) The Gallican rite

The Roman or Latin rite has absorbed the other rites which have become *practically* extinct.

CHAPTER II

1. The Three Syriac Liturgies

are 1) The Syrian Rite of Antioch 2) The Maronite Rite and 3) The Chaldean or East Syrian Rite. The Maronite rite appears to be a curtailed and slightly modified form of the Syrian rite of Antioch or the West Syrian rite. For the purposes of study we need only study the West Syrian liturgy and the East Syrian liturgy.

2. The West Syrian Liturgy

Something is known of the oldest liturgy of Antioch thanks to the *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Doctrine of the Apostles: a valuable document which tells us about the organization and liturgical life of the church towards the middle of the third century in a Greek speaking Syrian Community, that was strongly marked by Jewish tradition). From the fourth century several usages were imported from Jerusalem, notably the Eucharistic Anaphora called "of St. James", and from then on the Antiochian liturgy was characterized by splendour and the place it gave to nonbiblical hymns. Early in the 6th century the Patriarch Severus the great doctor of the nonchalcedonian group, compiled a collection of chants arranged according to the liturgical cycle and in the order of Services; in the following century these were translated into Syriac by James of Edessa. Meanwhile the formal rupture of the nonchalcedonians with Constantinople had resulted in the Jacobite Church constructing a liturgy in Syriac. This, side by side with purely Antiochian elements translated from Greek, appears to have drawn largely on customs of communities which had always used their native Syriac, as well as on the rich resources provided at Edessa by St. Ephrem and his followers. In spite of the radical and often violent opposition between the Jacobite Church and the Nestorian Church, these borrowings seem to have gone on for a long time.

In its main parts the work of the great Jacobite doctors and Patriarchs of the seventh and eighth centuries, this liturgy long remained open to new compositions, not only as regards hymns (by such eminent persons as Jacob of Sarug and Mar Balai), which have a place in it not equalled elsewhere but also for such important things as eucharistic anaphoras and the rites of baptism and penance. Definitive codification came only in the second half of the 12th century with Dionysius bar Salibi and his contemporary Patriarch Michael the great to whom the Antiochian Pontifical (= the liturgy of ordination) is owed. But some of the seventytwo anaphoras that still exist are of later origin.

3. The Structure of the Service of the Holy Qurbano:

The Holy Qurbano, according to his Rite, consists of three parts, namely:-

I. The preparation, the vesting, the offering of Bread and Wine (Thuyobo), the naming of the Intention of the Mass, performed within the sanctuary with the Holy door closed (the veil drawn across).

II. The public celebration of the Mass of the Catechumens. This consists of four parts:

1. Adoration of Christ the King ('Monogenes')
2. Adoration of Christ the prophet (Liturgy of the Word)
3. The entrance and the Adoration of the Bl. Trinity
4. The Church's profession of faith (Credo)

N. B. When thus part of the Liturgy is over the Catechumens are dismissed.

III. The mass of the Faithful — the Adoration of Christ the High Priest-Victim. This consists of the following parts:

Part 1. a) Preparation (Priest washes his hands)
 b) The Kiss of peace
 c) The Inclination (Bow)

Part 2. a) The prayer of the cloud (Shoshopo)
 b) The first Blessing

- c) The *Sursum Corda*
- d) The Preface
- e) The Sanctus (Holy, Holy)

- Part 3. The Institution Narrative (Consecration)
- Part 4. The Anamnesis (Memorial)
- Part 5. The Epiklesis
- Part 6. a) Prayer for the Communicants
b) The Diptychs (The great Intercessions)
c) Prayer for a happy death.
d) The Second Blessing
- Part 7. The Fraction – further remembrance of the Passion.
- Part 8. a) The Lord's Prayer
b) The inclination and the third blessing.
- Part 9. a) The Elevation of the Holy Mysteries and the invitation to communion.
b) Communion with the Bl. Trinity.
- Part 10. The Eucharistic Adoration and communion of Saints.
- Part 11. The Communion
 - a) The Priests Communion
 - b) The Eucharistic procession and the Benediction of the Blessed sacrament.
 - c) The Communion of the faithful.
 - d) Post Communion prayers.
 - e) Thanksgiving
 - f) Final Supplication to Christ.
- Part 12. The fourth Blessing and the Farewell. Private Prayers.
Eulogia (Blessing of the Bread).

4. Detailed analysis of the Eucharistic Liturgy of the West Syrian Rite

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY

INTRODUCTION

1. The usual Syriac word for the Eucharistic liturgy is qurobho, 'approach' derived from the same root as qurbono, 'oblation' ; in practice it means 'offering'. The mass also is qud-

dosh roze, quddosho, 'hallowing of the mysteries, hallowing,' and the verb qaddesh is used absolutely for celebrating Mass. Quddas is the word for Mass among all Arabic-speaking peoples.

The Mass consists of the *ordo communis* (tukkoso dh'-qurobho, 'order of offering'), which is the same for every Mass, and of the *anaphora* (annaphuro) beginning with the Prayer before the Peace and ending with the Prayer of Inclination after the Thanksgiving. The anaphora thus very roughly corresponds with the Latin secret, preface, canon, introduction to the Lord's Prayer with the prayer following it, and the postcommunion. The norm, as already stated, is the anaphora of St. James, 'which he heard and learnt from the mouth of the Lord', but this is not in daily use. A number of anaphoras following its general tenor have been composed at different times. Of these the greater number survive only in old manuscripts; a few, perhaps a dozen or so, are in use, many of them quite short. An English translation of the Mass is to be found in Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896); the diakonika, however, are not Jacobite but Maronite. Another translation is to be found in Howard (*op.cit.*)

2. Before describing the order and ceremonies of the Mass it is desirable to define certain liturgical terms of frequent occurrence.

i) *Hussoyo* 'propitiation'. A prayer recited originally during the burning of incense below the altar. It differs from other prayers in its composition and consists of three main parts:

a) *Proem* (p'rumiyon, p'romiyon,) or introduction. This is usually preceded by the diaconal exclamation 'Stomen kalos' and the response 'Kyrie eleison', and always by the koruzutho ('proclamation') or shuroyo ('beginning') of the hussoyo, namely 'Glory and confession and magnificence and praise and exaltation without ceasing always at all times may we be accounted worthy to send up', the proem beginning with the dative case.

b) *M'hass'yono hokhil*. 'Propitious therefore'. The middle portion which, however, is said only on certain occasions.

c) *Sedhro*, 'order' (of incense). A long prayer in prose or verse. The verb s'dhar is used absolutely with the meaning 'he said the sedhro'. At the end of the sedhro on certain occasions is said the huttomo or 'seal', namely 'From God may we receive propitiation of offences and forgiveness of sins in both worlds for ever. Amen'. This and the koruzutho are said by the pontiff, if present.

The hussoyo is often called sedhro or even p'rumiyon, the whole from the part. It frequently is followed by the:-

ii) *Qolo*, 'voice, tune'. A series of short anthems, each known as baito, 'house' (cf. stanza), on a framework of hemistichs (pethghome) usually from the psalms with 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost' and 'From everlasting and unto the age of ages. Amen.' Occasionally the two clauses of the doxology are all the verses that survive. The qolo following the sedhro normally consists of four anthems.

iii) *Prayer of the Incense* ('etro, 'smoke'; pryer of the smoke; prayer of the pirmo, i.e. of the censer or incense; prayer of the qubbol pirmo, 'acceptance of incense'). It is short. If the pontiff be present, he says it.

iv) *Eqbo*, 'heel, end.' A short anthem of a single verse in the Syriac measure (*teste* the Patriarch Rahmani) at the end of certain movements; it is said when there is no metre preceding. This is the anthem wrongly headed 'examination; in Howard and in Brightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 76, 108.

In addition to the above occur the following:-

v) *Kathisma* (qathismā) or *Stichon* (stikhon, estikhon). Originally an anthem of Greek provenance similar to the Byzantine short piece of the same name, but now difficult to distinguish from other like compositions. In British Museum Add. 14504 (ix cent.), 14505 and 17135 (x cent.), it appears in connection with the 'Lauds', i. e. Psalms 148, 149, 150, and 116, at Mattins. Add. 17232 (A.D. 1210) and 17252 (xiii—xiv cent.) indicate certain kathismas as proper to be sung at the communion as shubbohos (section 36).

At the present day in the Office and in services assimilated thereto the kathisma or stichon either (1) resembles the Byzantine

sticheron, a number being inserted after verses of a psalm sung 'on the kyklion' (v. section 46) towards its end, as in the consecration of a bishop, or (2) is equivalent to an eqbo (q.v.), sung after the 'Gloria' of a psalm similarly chanted. Sung in this second way stichons appear in the 'Greek Canon' (v. section 52), the Magnificat, and the Beatitudes in the consecration of the chrism (Boldleian Hunt. 444).

This species of anthem also is used in the Mass:-

- a) Kathisma of the Qurobho, sung at solemn Mass during the offertory prayer 'The memorial' (section 25).
- b) Stichon in lieu of the qolo after the gospel. That in a Jacobite Diaconale of 1902 is identical with a takhshephtho, Mode II, 5, in the Syr. Festal Breviary.
- c) The name kathisma is applied to the diaconal proclamation 'on the step' after the Creed, sung at pontifical Mass by the clerks.
- d) The qatholiqi during the fraction in the Jacobite Diaconale referred to has the alternative title of kathisma. As has been seen, a kathisma could be sung during the communion as a shubboho, and as a shubboho can be used for the qatholiqi the interchange of names is intelligible.

The difficulty of differentiating between the kathisma and the takhshephtho is obvious. Collections of these appear in old manuscripts under separate headings, but in Add. 17252 one kathisma at least is found elsewhere as a takhshephtho and another to be used as a shubboho is labelled takhshephtho. This last name, 'beseeching', presumably indicates the contents of the piece. The Jacobite Diaconale of 1902 applies it to the petitions of the litany which concludes the qatholiqi, yet it calls the final one 'the seal of the kathisma'.

vi. *M'anitho*. This consists of a hemistich (pethghomo) from a psalm, which is the theme, followed by a single stanza or anthem. A collection of anthems of this form, translated from the Greek, is attributed to Severus of Antioch and others;

in British Museum Add. 17134 (vii cent.) some are called by the Greek name 'antiphona', of which the Syriac title may be a translation. The same manuscript contains other anthems without the hemistich and sometimes very short, also styled m'anitho.

The m'anitho or Anthem of the Qurobho at solemn Mass is chanted alternately by the two divisions of the choir; if this practice is ancient it may explain the term 'antiphonon' mentioned above.

M'anitho is the name given in British Museum Add. 14503 (x–xi cent.) to the qolo in the Office and according to Payne Smith *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2930, to the 'enyono' (v. section 46) Such terminology is unusual.

3. The following is a translation of the hussoyo 'of penitence' and the connected formulae in the early part of the Mass.

Glory and confession etc. *Proem*. To the one merciful Father who heareth sinners that cry to him, the one gracious Son who receiveth penitents that knock at his door, the one holy spirit who pardoneth debtors that beseech him; him befiteth glory and honour at this moment and at all feasts and moments and hours and times and all the days of our life and for ever. Amen.

Sedhro. O God who art gentle and kind, humble and a lover of man, who delightest in mercy and not in sacrifices and who lovest a contrite heart rather than burnt offerings and receivest a humble spirit rather than the blood and the smell (of the fat) of bulls and fat lambs, receive our spiritual sacrifice at this moment on the reasonable altar and account us worthy to present unto thee our souls, a living and acceptable sacrifice, pleasing to the will in reasonable service, and to sacrifice unto thee spiritual sacrifices in a contrite heart and a humble spirit on the altar on high; and may we be unto thee a flock resplendent and stainless, that being changed with a new change and strengthened as neophytes for the new world with souls reasonable and wise with the fair lamps of

faith we may all be accounted worthy to say, Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost world without end. Amen.

Qolo. 1) At thy door, O our Lord, do I knock and from thy treasure-house do I ask mercies. I, a sinner of years, have turned aside from thy path. Grant me to confess my sins and to turn from them and to live in thy grace. 2) At what door shall we go and knock save at thy door, O gracious one our Lord, and whom have to plead with thee for our error if thy mercies plead not with thee, O King whose honour kings worship? *Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost.* 3) Father and Son and Holy Ghost, be thou to us a high wall and a house of refuge from the evil one and from the powers of him who striveth with us; with the wings of thy mercies protect us when the good are separated from the wicked. *From everlasting and unto the age of ages. Amen.* 4) May the voice of our prayer be a key which openeth the door of Heaven and may the archangels say in their ranks, How pleasant is the voice of the children of dust and may the Lord answer swiftly their petitions.

Then O our Lord, have mercy on us and help us.

'Etro ('Smoke'). May the savour of our prayer be pleasing unto thee, O my Lord, at all times and may the smoke of our incense be for thy satisfaction and be thou reconciled unto thy creation thereby for thy mercies' sake, now and at all times and world without end. Amen.

'Eqbo. O Christ, who didst receive the offering of Melchisedech the great pontiff, receive, O my Lord, the prayer of thy servant and pardon the offences of thy flock.

Kyrie eleison (thrice). O our Lord, have mercy upon us. O our Lord, be propitious and have mercy upon us. O our Lord, hear us and have mercy upon us. Glory to thee, O our Lord (twice). Glory to thee, O our hope, for ever. Our Father.....

Huttomo ('Seal'). Lamb pure and unspotted, who didst offer thyself to the Father an acceptable oblation for the

pardon and salvation of the whole world, account us worthy to offer unto thee ourselves a living sacrifice pleasing to thee and imitating thine immolation for us. O Christ our God, for ever. Amen.

The following qolo from the second teshmeshto of the Mass contains the hemistichs:-

Praise, O ye righteous, the Lord 1) With the smoke of incense may there be a memorial to the Virgin Mary Mother of God. *Praise him, all ye nations.* 2) With the smoke of incense may there be a memorial to the holy prophets and apostles and martyrs. *Glory.* 3) With the smoke of incense may there be a memorial to the doctors and the priests and the just and the righteous. *From everlasting.* 4) With the smoke of incense may there be a memorial to the holy Church and to all her children.

4. The word *teshmeshto*, 'service', is applied not only to the canonical hours and other services but also to what really is a miniature office. It is frequently in use, and may consist of a psalm, the hussoyo (proem and sedhro), a qolo, the prayer of the 'smoke', a bo'utho (v. section 47) or 'eqbo' and the 'seal'. But the first and the last sometimes are absent. The original 'service of psalms' corresponded with the Byzantine and the similar beginning of the East Syrian Liturgy. By the sixteenth century it had been duplicated, the preparation of the oblata, the offertory, and the vesting being interculated in the first and second teshmeshtos so formed.

The two teshmeshtos, unless the Mass be celebrated with great solemnity, are said while the Office is recited by the choir. As a rule the priest begins the Anthem of the Quro-bho immediately after Sext. On all days of Lent with the exception of Saturdays and Sundays, on Holy Saturday and on the vigil of Christmas the Mass follows Vespers, and on Easter day Matins.

5. The *vernacular* used by the Jacobites of the old Turkish Empire is Arabic, and in some localities Kurdish or

Turkish. Those of South India and the Mal. employ Malayalam. The use of the common tongue among the Syr. is more restricted than among the Jacobites, Syriac being retained exclusively where Arabic is not spoken. In the Mass and Office Arabic can be used for the lessons, the Prayers of the Beginning and of incense, the hussoyo, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and other portions said aloud. On great feasts the gospel at Vespers and at Mass is to be read first in Syriac, then in Arabic. On the vigil of Christmas, Holy Saturday and the first Saturday of Lent, i. e. the feast of St. Ephraim, the whole Mass is to be in Syriac. The Office being largely composed of Syriac poetry has preserved the original language to a great extent, Arabic being forbidden where the Syriac is in metre.

6. Gregory Barhebraeus, the great Jacobite canonist of the thirteenth century, prescribes the *sign of the cross* to be made 'from the forehead to the breast and from the left to the right' (*Nomokanon*, V, 5). The Syr. make it with the open hand *more Romano* in view of the Jacobite practice of using one finger, the middle one, in token of their heresy. But at Jerusalem, at least, they cross themselves joining the first two fingers and thumb. When blessing things, they do not make a cross over the object with two movements of the hand as do the Latins, but with four, punctuating as it were the extremities of the cross with dots: the two fingers and thumb are joined as in blessing themselves. Bishops in blessing persons and things use the manual cross, even at the recital of the institution.

Information touching 'worshipping' or profound inclination is given under the heading of the Divine Office.

PROTHESIS AND OFFERTORY

7. The priest begins the first teshmeshto of the Mass with the prayer of the Beginning and Ps. 51, 'Miserere', standing before the gate of the altar. He then begs the prayers of the assistants, enters the sanctuary, worships, goes up to the altar and kisses it. Each action, as throughout the Mass, is accompanied by a short prayer. He then lights the candles, first

a) that on the right, then b) that on the left. The formulae are:-

a) In thy light do we see light, Jesu full of light, who art the true light that enlighteneth every creature; enlighten us by thy glorious light, O effulgence of the heavenly Father.

b) Sacred and holy, who dwellest in the abodes of light, take from us all evil passions and hateful thoughts; grant us that in purity of heart we may do the works of righteousness.

Next comes the prothesis. The priest spreads the square of coloured material (Syr. the corporal), and uncovers and arranges the vessels with the sponge, spoon, etc., the paten on the left and the chalice on the right. The 'seals' or cakes are now arranged; if they are many, they are placed on the four sides of the paten crosswise, if few one over another. The wine and water are mixed in the 'deaconess', by the Jacobites in equal quantities, and then poured into the chalice; some Jacobite books provide for a further quantity of water to be added to the mixture in the chalice with the monophysite formula 'Unite, Lord God, this water with this wine as thou didst unite thy godhead with our manhood'. The manner of arranging the spoon etc. differs in the books as to some extent do the prayers. The prothesis ends with the covering of the paten and chalice with the small veils. The priest then descends from the altar and recites the proem and sedhro 'of penitence' with the rest of the teshmeshto (v, section 20).

8. After the Prayer of the Beginning of the Second Teshmeshto the priest goes to the diakonikon, takes off his outer garment and puts on the vestments. He then comes before the altar within the veil and prays for himself. He next kisses the step, goes up to the altar, uncovers the paten and chalice, and crossing his right hand over his left takes the paten in his right and the chalice in his left and holds them so crossed while he recites a long offertory prayer beginning, 'The memorial of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ do we commemorate, and of all his saving dispensation on our behalf' (m'dhabb'ronutho, 'economy'; meth-

Hakhronutho, meth'ah'dhonutho, 'commemoration'). In this he remembers 'our father Adam and our mother Eve', the Mother of God, the saints and the departed, and in particular those for whom he offers. He then covers the mysteries with the anaphora or great veil, comes down from the altar, sets on incense and says the proem and sedhro. Going up again, during the qolo (for the text see section 20) and the rest of the teshmeshto he incenses the mysteries, the altar, and the people. During the two teshmeshtos the veil is drawn.

The position of the prothesis and vesting given above is not everywhere the same. In some places the prothesis follows the vesting in the second teshmeshto, in some the vesting precedes the prothesis in the first.

THE MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS

9. To this strictly speaking should belong the incensing just described; in practice it is the end of the second teshmeshto.

The Office, usually Sext, being now over, the Mass proper begins with the Anthem of the Qurobho (m'anithodh' qurobho), attributed by the Jacobites to Severus of Antioch; it is preceded by a hemistich, 'I will exalt thee, O my Lord King' (Ps. 145, V I). During this a procession (k'rokhyo, 'circuit') goes round the altar, the priest carrying the censer with candles before him. On returning he incenses the altar, clergy, people and the mysteries. He then goes up to the altar and the Trisagion is said thrice, 'Holy art thou, O God; holy art thou, O Mighty; holy art thou, O Immortal (who wast crucified for us), have mercy upon us'.

10. Normally the lessons are reduced to two, the 'Apostle' or 'Paul', from the Epistles of St. Paul, and the gospel; each is preceded by a secret prayer. Before the apostle is sung the zummoro, roughly our gradual, and before the gospel the hullolo (Halleluiah with a verse). The apostle is read by the deacon from the side door of the screen, the gospel by the celebrant at the main door: it is incensed during the reading by the deacon and lights are carried. In Malabar a

small table covered with a coloured cloth is brought from the sanctuary for the purpose; a cross is placed on the west side and a book-stand on the east between two tapers (Howard, op. cit., p. 139). The 'secret' prayer after the gospel follows.

THE 'ENTRANCE'

11. Meanwhile the 'qolo of the entrance of the qurobho' is sung. At one time the Jacobites had a procession of the mysteries here from the altar to the altar. This may have been a copy of the Byzantine great entrance and has long disappeared. The word 'entrance' refers not to this but either to the 'beginning' of the Mass of the faithful (cf. 'Entrance of the Fast') or to the entrance of the priest and ministers into the sanctuary from the catastroma, which took place here in the old East Syrian or Nestorian rite.

The hussoyo or sedhro 'of the entrance of the qurobho' is prefaced by 'stomen kalos' said by the deacon and the reply 'Kyrie eleison' by the people. After the proem the priest descends to the foot of the altar and before 'Propitious therefore' (v. section 19) puts on incense and chants the sedhro. At its end he again puts on incense and then grasping with his left hand one chain of the censer blesses it with his right saying, 'Holy is the holy Father'; he then grasps the second chain in addition and then the third, blessing as before and saying 'Holy is the Holy Son', 'Holy is the Holy Spirit who halloweth the incense', etc., the people replying 'Amen' to each blessing.

After the diaconal exclamation 'Sophia Theo proschomen' the priest begins 'We believe in one God' and during the recitation of the creed incenses the altar, the mysteries, the clergy and the people. He then washes his fingers, asks the prayers of the people, and bowing down or kneeling before the altar says in secret a short prayer of preparation and remembers such of the living and dead as he may desire. He next kisses the step goes up to the altar, and begins the anaphora. In some places after the creed the deacon admonishes the people, 'Behold a time of prayer', etc., the representative of the 'Eastern' proclamation upon the step.

THE ANAPHORA

12. The first prayer of the anaphora is that 'before the peace, said aloud with the hands folded on the breast. Then comes 'Peace be to you all' and the kiss. The methods of giving the peace vary. (i) The deacon takes the priests joined hands between his own and passes his own down his face; he then gives his hands likewise to the next and so the peace goes round the church. Or (ii) the deacon censes the priest who catches the smoke and puts it to his face (Howard op. cit., pp. 142, 143). The deacon censes the clergy who act in the same manner. Among the Syr. (iii) the priest kisses the altar; the deacon then kisses it in the same place while the priest blesses him, and kisses the priest's hand. He then censes the clergy who act as in (ii) and then the people who pass the peace as in (i) If no clergy be present, the deacon passes the peace by hand as in (i).

The second prayer is 'of the imposition of the hand' (s'yom-idho), i. e. of Inclination, prefaced by the diaconal bidding to the people to bow their heads to the Lord. It is said with the hands folded as before and is immediately followed by the 'Prayer of the Anaphora' or 'of the Veil', similarly said.

13. The deacon now proclaims 'Stand we fairly, stand we with trembling', etc., and meanwhile the priest lifts the great veil from the paten and chalice and makes it to flutter over the mysteries, raising and lowering it thrice. He then blesses himself, the deacons on either side, and the people saying 'The love of God the Father and the grace of the only-begotten Son and the communion and descent of the Holy Ghost be with you all for ever'. R./ 'With thy spirit'. Then turning to the altar and lifting up his eyes and hands he says 'On high where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father be the minds and intellects and hearts of us all at this hour'. R./ 'They are with the Lord our God'. And then 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord in fear'. R./ 'Meet and right'. According to Howard, p. 144, it is here that the priest turns to the altar.

22 THE SYRIAC LITURGY

14. The 'Prayer of the Thanksgiving' (eucharistia) now begins, our preface but also comprising the anaphora to the end of the epiklesis or invocation of the Holy Ghost. The preface consists of two parts, the first said in secret while the priest bows down fluttering his right hand over the paten and his left over the chalice, the second said aloud while he stands up and stretches out his hands. The whole ends with the *Sanctus*, which is common with the Western but not with the Byzantine reads 'Holy holy holy Lord God'. The priest continues the anaphora bowing down and fluttering his hands thrice as before, and standing up begins aloud the recital of the Last Supper. At 'he took bread' the priest takes up one bread from the paten and places it ceremoniously on the palm of his left hand; at 'and blessed' he blesses it twice and once more at 'and hallowed'; at 'and brake' he breaks it slightly at one of the middle crosses, taking care not to separate the halves, and then continues with the words of institution. At 'and for many is broken' he turns the bread half a circle on the left and breaks it slightly at the bottom, again without dividing it, and after 'for ever and ever' lays it on the paten; if a Catholic he worships. At 'Likewise also the chalice' the priest takes the chalice by the middle in his right hand and lifts it up over the tablitho, at 'he gave thanks' he ceremoniously takes it in his left hand and then blesses it thrice as above; at 'Take, drink ye' he places his right hand on the lip of the chalice, and at 'is shed' takes it in the same hand and lifts or tilts it slightly over the tablitho, moves it crosswise, puts it down in its place, and last of all, if a Catholic, worships. After each section of the words of institution the people answer 'Amen'.

The Lord's command 'This do ye' follows with the people's 'Thy death O our Lord, do we commemorate', etc. and then with two responses by the people, the anamnesis said aloud. The Syrian Liturgy has the peculiarity that this prayer is addressed to God the Son; the Greek St. James, as usual, is to God the Father. Then comes the invocation (q'roito) of the Holy Ghost. The priest begins it in secret bowing down and fluttering his hands thrice as before, then smiting his breast cries aloud 'Hear me, O Lord; hear me, O Lord; hear me,

Lord. Be propitious, O Good one, and have mercy upon me,' the people answering 'Kyire eleison' thrice, and continues the prayer aloud fluttering his right hand over the Host thrice and making the sign of the cross over it thrice, and similarly over the chalice. The people reply 'Amen' on each occasion. He then covers the chalice and proceeds standing upright with hands outstretched and so completes the epiklesis.

THE INTERCESSION

15. The Great Intercession which follows consists of six prayers; three for the living that is the fathers or pastors, the faithful brethren and faithful kings, and three for the dead, namely the Mother of God and the saints, the fathers and doctors, and the departed. Each prayer has two parts. The first is said in secret by the priest bowing down with hands folded; during this the deacon recites the diptych or canon (diptukho, diyotikho; qonuno), at the end of which the people answer 'Kyrie eleison'. The second is said aloud, the priest standing with fore-arms outstretched; at its end he lowers his arms by the Mysteries 'and in his hands takes a blessing from them', and the people say 'Amen'. The generic name of the secret half of a prayer is g'honto, 'inclination', and of second half said aloud z'loito, 'elevation' *scil.* of the voice, or p'shotto, 'extension' *scil.* of the hands. At the g'honto of the fathers and doctors the priest makes a cross with his thumb over the Host and then on the page of the 'Book of life' over the names of the deceased bishops; he does the same at the next prayer over the names of the departed presbyters and others. The last prayer ends with a doxology, to which the people reply, 'As it was, is and awaiteth to generations of generations and to all generations world without end. Amen.'

As examples of the diptychs the text of the first (Syr.) and of the fifth (Jacobite) are given:—

No. 1. 'Bless, O my lord. Pray we and beseech our Lord and our God at this great and terrible and Holy moment for all our fathers and rulers who stand at our head this day and in this present life and tend and rule the holy churches of God in the four quarters of the world, our holy venerable and blessed

24 THE SYRIAC LITURGY

fathers the great pontiff Mar N., Pope of Rome, and Mar Ignatius N., our patriarch, and our father Mar N., our sacred metropolitan (or bishop); may they be established in God! with the residue of all the orthodox bishops: their prayer be a wall to us! Let us beseech the Lord.'

No. 5. 'Again then also we commemorate those who among the saints in holiness have aforetime fallen asleep and are at rest and kept the one apostolic stainless faith and gave and delivered it to us, those then of the three sacred and holy and oecumenical synods we proclaim, that indeed at Nicaea and that in Constantinople and that in Ephesus, and our glorious and God-clothed fathers the sacred (bishops) and teachers who were in them; and James indeed archbishop of Jerusalem and apostle and martyr, Ignatius, Dionysius, Athanasius, Julius, Basil, Gregory, Dioscorus, Timothy, Philoxenus, Anthimus, John (Chrysostom), especially Cyril who was a lofty tower and interpreter who expounded and explained the incarnation of the Word of God made flesh; again then also our patriarch Mar Severus the eloquent mouth and pillar and doctor of all the holy Church of God, and our sacred holy father Mar James Baradaeus establisher of the orthodox faith; and Mar Ephraim and Mar James and Mar Isaac and Mar Balai with Mar Barsauma chief of mourners (scil. hermits) and Mar Simeon Stylites, and those who before them and with them and after them kept the one orthodox and uncorrupted faith and gave and delivered it to us. Let us beseech the Lord.'

After 'Peace be to you all' the priest places his right hand on the Mysteries, blesses himself and those on either side, and then turning round blesses the people thrice saying, 'May the mercies of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all, my brethren, for ever'.

THE FRACTION

16. The veil is now drawn. The priest uncovers the chalice and begins the 'Order of Breaking and Signing' (tuk-kosodh'-q'soyo w'rushmo), during which the deacon says the qatholiqui. This consists of variable verses, sometimes called

kathisma, at the end of which is a litany beginning with 'An angel of tranquillity and of peace and of mercies and of grace, my brethren, at all times let us implore of the Lord'. The answer to each petition (takhshephtho) is 'Kyrie eleison', and to the last 'Our lives let us commit into thy hands, O Lord merciful God, and ask for mercies; be propitious, O good One, and have mercy upon us'.

The prayer at the fraction in use among the Jacobites is attributed to Dionysius Barsalibi (ob. 1171). It is in reality an adaptation of his work on the liturgy, in which this passage has been copied from the ninth-century commentator Moses bar Kepho. Purged of Monophysism it was used by the Syr. until 1922, when it was displaced by the learned Patriarch Rahmani in favour of the much older formula rejected in the time of the Jacobite patriarch George I (viii cent.); this reads 'The heavenly Bread we break in the name of the Father. Amen. And of the Son. Amen. And of the Spirit living and holy. Amen. For life world without end. Amen.' The mode of the fraction and consignation is so peculiar that it is worth while describing at length with the text of Barsalibi's prayer, which was composed to suit it.

Thus truly did the word of God suffer in the flesh "the priest breaks the Host in the midst, saying" and was sacrificed and broken on the rood "he divides and separates the halves slightly" and his soul was separated from his body "he unites them" though his Godhead was in no wise separated either from his Soul or from his body "he dips the top of the half in his right hand making a cross in the chalice and then with the moistened top signs the broken edge of the left hand half" and he was pierced† in his side† with the lance "he dips it again" and therefrom flowed forth blood and water, the propitiation for the whole world, "and signs the left half again" and his body was stained therewith. "He joins the halves and turns them round half a circle from right to left." And for the sin of the circle of the whole world "he dips the original left hand top, now at the right bottom, and signs the blood inversely, viz. from west to east, etc.," the Son† died "and signs the half now in his left hand as before" upon

the† rood. "He joins the halves." And his soul came back and was united with his body "he elevates them so joined and bows;" and on the third day he rose from the tomb "he lowers them and turns them round half a circle from left to right" and he turned us from a lefthand conversation to that of the right hand "he proceeds holding the whole Host with the two moistened tops uppermost" and by the blood of his rood reconciled and united and joined heavenly beings with those of earth and the people with the nations and the soul with the body. And he is one Emmanuel and not divided after the indivisible union into two natures. (Malabar. "He touches the host with his right hand and puts it to his forehead".) Thus we believe and (Malabar. "The same action repeated") thus we confess and thus we declared "he places the right half over the left half cross wise and holding them in the fingers of his left hand breaks a 'coal', i. e. the top from one, and places it in the chalice" that this Body belongeth to this Blood "he breaks a 'coal', i. e. the top of the other half, brings it near to the mouth of the chalice and then to the half, from which it was broken" and this Blood to this Body.

Thus there are six crosses, three on the Body and three on the Blood. At the end of the prayer he places the two halves in his left hand on the paten. He now holds the paten in his left hand with the coal between his fingers and dips this particle in the chalice and signs on the left half of the Host, dips it again and signs on the right half, and finally dips it once more and signs both halves together. He then places the 'coal' upon the two halves and replaces the paten on the altar.

THE LORD'S PRAYER AND INCLINATION

17. The veil is now drawn back, and the qatholiqi being ended the priest begins aloud with outstretched hands the prayer of the Our father, corresponding to our 'Praeceptis salutaribus moniti'. He then begins the Lord's Prayer, which is continued by the people. This is followed by the embolism, also said aloud with hands outstretched, 'Peace be to you all,'

and the Prayer of Imposition of the Hand or of Inclination. After a second 'Peace be to you all' the priest places his hand on the Mysteries and blesses himself, those on either side and the people as before, saying 'May the grace and the mercies of the Trinity, holy and glorious and uncreated, essential and eternal, adorable and consubstantial, be with you all for ever', to which the people reply 'Amen'.

THE ELEVATION

18. The elevation (zuyyoho) follows. The deacon cries 'Bless, O my lord. In fear and trembling let us give heed', and the people answer 'Be propitious, O Lord, and have mercy upon us'. The priest takes the paten in both hands and raises it aloft moving it crosswise from east to west and from north to south, crying 'The holies to the holy and pure are given', to which the response is 'One holy Father, one holy Son, one living and holy Spirit'. The priest places the paten upon his eyes, kisses it, puts it down on the altar and worships. He then uncovers the chalice, lifts it and replaces it with the same ceremonies, the people saying 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. One are they world without end Amen.' The priest next takes the paten in his right hand and the chalice in his left and holding the right over the left crosswise says 'The one holy Father is with us who formed the world by his grace'. R/ 'Amen., 'The one holy Son is with us who saved us by his own precious sufferings'. R/ 'Amen.' The one holy Spirit is with us who is the completer and perfecter of all that hath been and is. Blessed be the name of the Lord everlasting and to world without end.' R/ 'Amen.'

Some Jacobite books here insert a teshmeshto of our Lady or a kyklion (v. section 46) of the departed. The Syr. Diaconale for commons of saints provides a teshmeshto, viz. kyklion, 'eqbo, and qolo.

THE COMMUNION

19. The chanters sing 'Verse. *In oblations and in prayers.*

Let us remember our fathers who taught us whilst alive to be children unto God in this world that passeth away. O Son of God, rest them in the kingdom of Heaven with the just and with the righteous in the world that passeth not away,' and then the appropriate anthem styled shubboho. Meanwhile the priest has put down the paten and chalice on the altar. He then places the star over the paten and covers this and the chalice with their veils, comes down from the altar, asks pardon of the people but without turning his back on the mysteries, and bowing down or kneeling says a short prayer preparatory to his communion with hands folded on his breast. He then goes up, uncovers the mysteries, and with the spoon takes the 'coal' from the chalice and says, 'Thee do I hold who holdest the bounds; thee do I grasp who orderest the depths; thee, O God, in my mouth do I place; by thee may I be delivered from unquenchable fire and be accounted worthy of forgiveness of sins like the sinful woman and like the thief, O our Lord and our God, for ever'. He now lifts the coal with the spoon from the chalice with a little of the Blood and communicates himself saying 'The propitiatory coal of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to me a weak and sinful servant for pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins in both worlds, world without end. Amen.' Then he puts the other 'coal' which was placed on the paten into the spoon and so into the chalice, and communicates himself with the Blood by means of the spoon saying By the living and life-giving blood which was shed on the rood may my offences be pardoned and my sins forgiven, Jesu Word of God who camest for our salvation and art about to come for our resurrection, O our Lord and our God, for ever. Amen.'

20. The communion, among the Syr. at least, now follows, the number of 'pearls' necessary for the communion being broken off from the Host. In no case should the cross on each particle be broken. These are cast into the chalice (Syr. for the communion of the priests and deacons). When communicating the clergy with the spoon the priest says 'The propitiatory coal of the holy body and the propitiatory blood of Christ our God is given to the religious priest (or modest deacon or Antonian monk) and steward of the house

of God for pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins; his prayer be with us! Amen.'

The veil which has been drawn during the communion of the celebrant and clergy is now pulled back.

21. The priest now covers the paten and the chalice and holding the first in his right hand and the second in his left turns, and 'as the Mysteries go forth' with candles before them, says a short prayer aloud. He then blesses the people with the paten making the sign of the cross from west to east and from right to left, saying 'Stretch forth, O Lord, thine invisible right hand and bless this assembly of thy worshippers', etc., and crossing his right hand over his left descends from the step to the place of communion outside the sanctuary, reciting aloud another prayer. The formula of communion resembles that given above but substitutes for 'religious priest', etc 'the subdeacon, or reader, or psaltist or true believer'. The communicant answers 'Amen. During the communion an anthem is sung.

This, of course, is the correct place for the communion. But the abuse has crept in of giving communion to the people immediately before the ablutions. This practice was condemned by the Syr. Synod of Sharfeh in 1888.

In the thirteenth century in the western part of the patriarchate the priest dipped the particles in the chalice held by the deacon and so communicated the people. In the 'East' each particle was dipped at the fraction (Barhebraeus, *Nomokanon*, iv, 5). Of this last the Syr. practice is a modification, the people being given a particle ('pearl') signed with the Blood at the fraction. I am not aware of the usage of the Jacobites, with whom communion is rare, but there is only one formula for giving communion, viz. for the two species together. According to Janin the priest takes a particle out of the chalice with his fingers and gives to the communicant; Fortescue says that the particle is given from the chalice with the spoon. In Malabar it seems clear that the people are or were communicated from the paten.

The fact that the paten and chalice are covered when brought down from the altar presupposes the use of a table

outside the sanctuary. Such a table is mentioned in the Greek St. James and is still employed in Malabar, if not elsewhere. There the little table used for the reading of the gospel is placed in the catastroma with a cross and lights upon it.

The communicants should stand, with hands folded on the breast, but in Malabar they seem to adopt the Indian posture of kneeling with the body resting on the heels (Howard pp 145-7).

The communion being over, the priest again blesses the people as before with the paten, and turning at the gate of the altar, says, 'Glory to thee (thrice), O our Lord and our God, for ever. O our Lord Jesus Christ, may thy holy Body which we have eaten and thy propitiatory Blood which we have drunk be unto us not for judgement and vengeance but for life eternal and the salvation of us all, and do thou have mercy upon us.' He then returns to the altar and places the mysteries thereon.

THE THANKSGIVING AND DISMISSAL

22. The deacon having invited the people with the proclamation 'Stand we fairly all of us after that we have eaten', etc., and after the response 'We give thanks to thee especially on account of thy benefit towards us', the priest says aloud the Prayer of Thanksgiving with his hands folded on his breast. This is followed by 'Peace be to you all', and after a diaconal proclamation by the Prayer of Inclination. The deacon now says 'Depart in peace ye who in the name of Christ our God are dismissed', to which the people reply 'In the name of the Lord our God'. The priest then says a variable 'seal' (hutomo) or final prayer, and the people or deacon an 'eqbo' such as 'By the prayer of thy Mother and of all thy saints, pardon us, O our Lord, and rest our departed. Bless, O my lord'. The priest thereafter blesses the people, saying the commendation (magh'lonutho) 'Depart in peace, O our brethren and beloved, whilst we commend you all to the grace and mercies of the Holy Trinity', etc., at which lights are carried.

THE ABLUTIONS AND CONCLUSION

23. Now follow the ablution of the chalice, spoon and paten, the details of which, though not the prayers,

differ in most of the books. Those given here are from the Syro-Malankara Mass-book of 1934. The veil is drawn; the priest comes down from the altar and bowing down or kneeling says two prayers in secret. He then goes up, uncovers the chalice and paten, puts the spoon in the chalice and communicates himself with any 'coal' remaining, and recites Ps. 23, 'The Lord is my shepherd'. He then 'ministers the Body' consuming what remains of the Host and sweeping the lesser fragments into the chalice with his fingers (among the Jacobites with the gomuro); the accompanying prayer, which is of interest, reads: 'If there be any member (sc. particle) remaining it remaineth in thy knowledge which created the worlds; if there be any member remaining, may the Lord be its keeper and be propitious to us and to you'. He puts the paten on the altar and 'ministers the chalice', consuming what is left of the Blood. He then washes the paten with wine, pours it into the chalice which he washes with it, and drinks. He then puts water in the paten, washes the spoon and star, pours it into the chalice and again drinks; washes in the paten with water the fingers of his right hand, then those of his left, pours the water into the chalice and drinks a third time. This third ablution of the chalice sometimes is drunk by the deacon. Some Jacobite books assign to this ablution the rubric 'he drinks from the deaconess the wine which he mixes and gives to the deacon'; others assign the first part of the rubric, omitting mention of the deacon, to the drinking of the first ablution, and a second rubric 'he drinks the deaconess' to the last. The reference is to the finger-bowl used for pouring the wine and water, once used for all the ablutions. Water has been substituted throughout in some places by the Jacobites owing to poverty.

After wiping the paten and chalice with the sponge, the priest arranges the vessels and goes to the diakonikon, where he washes his hands, reciting Ps. 26, 'Iudica me', and Ps. 29, 'Afferte Domino', and takes off his vestments while saying a teshmeshto of the departed, at the 'eqbo of which he puts on his usual outer garment. He then turns to the altar, kisses it in the midst and on either side and says 'Remain in peace, O holy and divine altar of the Lord. From henceforth I know

not whether I shall return to thee or not. The Lord account me worthy to see thee in the church of the first-born which is in Heaven and in this covenant do I trust. Remain in peace, O holy and propitiatory altar of the holy Body and propitiatory Blood, which I have received from thee. May it be unto me for pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins and confidence before the dread tribunal of our Lord and our God for ever. Remain in peace, O holy altar, table of life, and intercede for me with our Lord Jesus Christ that my remembrance cease not from thee henceforth and to world without end. Amen'.

24. In Lent and on fasts and vigils bread is now blessed and distributed; it is called 'blessing' (burk'tho).

The sermon among the Syr. is in its correct place after the gospel, among the Jacobites after the blessing before the fraction or after the elevation and before the priest's communion.

Jacobite priests present at Mass put on their stoles at the procession before the Trisagion and keep them on until the dismissal.

5. The West-Syrian Eucharistic Liturgy

—AN APPRAISAL

According to ancient tradition, the rite of Antioch which is known as the liturgy of St. James, is none other than the original rite of Jerusalem as it was celebrated by James 'the brother of the Lord' in the Church at Jerusalem. It is now held that the Rite as it now stands, is not older than the fourth or the fifth century, but its principal elements go back to very early, if not Apostolic, times and it is certainly one of the most venerable rites in Christendom. The original liturgy of Jerusalem was in Aramaic, which was spoken by our Lord and the Apostles, but in Antioch it came to be celebrated in Greek. When the faith spread into the country districts it was translated again into Aramaic or Syriac as it came to be called. The liturgy continued to grow from the fourth to the tenth century, drawing on the tradition and hymns of the Syriac-speaking Church of the East and even on that of the Byzantine. Thus there gradually grew up a liturgy incomparable in splendour and beauty.

The West Syrian liturgy of Antioch celebrated in the Vernacular, is first of all an Oriental form of liturgy which, though it owes something to the Greek world, remains rested in the Semitic World of the Middle East. It belongs to the same world as the Bible itself. It is as though it sprang from the same language as was used in Palestine, expressing itself not in the metaphysical terms of Greek theology, but, in the rich symbolic language of the Bible. The liturgy consists largely of long prayers of great beauty and solemnity and of songs and chants set to solemn music and composed for the most part in the golden age of the liturgy between the fourth and tenth centuries. Biblical imagery, Biblical echoes, allusions and parallelisms, paraphrase of Biblical passages, woven into the text abound in the prayers of the liturgy and thus the original flavour of revelation as expressed in the Bible is preserved in tact.

The gestures and symbolic actions in the liturgy are fundamentally Oriental and an Asian will find them suited to his ethos and culture and expressive of his genuine religious sentiments. Thus the Antiochene liturgy is the expression of an oriental form of Christianity, distinct from all its occidental forms. The liturgical scholars of the Church of South India during the formation of that church found this liturgy to be the best and most suited to be adapted for the use of that church. They found this liturgy only as foreign as the Bible is foreign. "In the twentieth century there are theorists like Drews who look upon it (the West Syrian liturgy of St. James) as the most ancient and pure form of the Eucharist, and try to show the hypothetical evolutionary process by which the Roman liturgy itself must have originated from it." One of the greatest Anglican liturgists of the last century, Bishop Walter Howard Frere, in his Book, *The Anaphora*, more subtly and much more prudently maintained that this was the ideal liturgy conceived and developed on a plan which is substantially primitive, even if its working form represents an undeniably advanced evolution. The continuity of its development and the logical unity of the Trinitarian structure in which it is inscribed seem to him to be "the guarantee of the quasi-apostolic antiquity of this Eucharistic scheme whatever we might say about the variations in detail of the formulas with which it

34 THE SYRIAC LITURGY

may be clothed', (Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist*, P. 245). There is not much of adaptation to be done in this liturgy if one remembers that "in this first expression of faith there is something permanent, which will ever make of us spiritual Semites" (Louis Bouyer).

In this liturgy of the Eucharist the Church commemo-
rates the entire life of our Lord—all his saving dispensation,
the Annunciation of the angel to our Lady, the Birth of our
Lord in the Flesh, His Baptism in the river Jordan, His saving
passion, His exaltation on the cross, His life-giving Death, His
honourable burial, His glorious Resurrection, His Ascension
into heaven, and His Enthronement at the right hand of God
the Father. The liturgy ends with a prayer that at His Second
coming we may receive mercy.

There is also in this liturgy a wonderful sacramental
sense: the sense that through the Incarnation the divine power
has penetrated the whole creation and man begins to participate
in the new life of resurrection. The eucharist according to this
liturgy is seen not as a sacrifice *and* a memorial, but a sacrifice
as a memorial. In the economy and balance of its composition
this liturgy remains the most accomplished literary monument
of, perhaps, the whole of liturgical literature (Cf. Louis Bouyer,
The *Eucharist* P. 268). This liturgy is "the most prolific of
all liturgies and has a large family of daughter liturgies" (Ad-
rian Fortesque) and can therefore form a basis for the organic
evolution of other Indian liturgies. Adrian Fortesque, a great
scholar in liturgy and Church History, has this to say about
this liturgy in so far as it is 'possessed only by a small group
of people.' "This liturgy is one of the most beautiful in Chris-
tendom. Strange that an insignificant little sect should possess
so splendid a liturgical tradition" (*The Lesser Eastern Churches*
P.310).

Louis Bouyer says that the liturgy of St. James "re-
mains the most accomplished literary monument of the whole
of liturgical literature" (Eucharist, P.268). Again he says, "We
will not deny that the West Syrian Eucharist can be considered
ideal at least in the sense that nowhere else has the whole
traditional content of the Christian Eucharist been expressed with

such fulness and in such a satisfying frame-work for a certain logical type of mind The unfailing logical unity, the continuity of its development and the impeccable Trinitarian Scheme in which people are so happy to find it inscribed are all irrefutable sins..... of a well thought out structure, that remodelled the traditional materials with hardly believable daring". (Eucharist, pp.245-246). Today when there is so much talk about "*inculturation*" and adaptation of the liturgy to different cultures, it is good to remember that this Syrian liturgical tradition is found more suited to India than any Western liturgical tradition. "When many years ago, the Anglican monks of the C.P.S.S. Asharm, Poona, had wanted to make an Indian liturgy they turned to the Syrian liturgy as the model best suited to the Indian genius. Kurisumala Ashram in Kerala (founded by Francis Acharya and Fr. Bede Griffiths) chose the Malankara syrian liturgy and prayer forms for their genuinely Indian Ashram life." (Rev. Dr. C. A Abraham, 'An Indian Reality; A Church at Risk'; *Christian Orient*, Vol. V, No. 3, September, 1984, P. 131).

The Syrians use the name *Qurbono* or *Qurobo* for the Eucharistic liturgy. The word Qurbono means "Sacrificial offering or oblation." The word Qurobo means "Access", signifying our access to God through Christ. This is truly a people's liturgy; nearly one third of the liturgy is sung by the deacon and the People. The entire body of the faithful share in the offering, and the singing is congregational.

The Syrian liturgy is dominated by a sense of awe and wonder before the divine majesty, as in the vision of Isaiah in which he saw the Lord of glory and became aware of his own sinfulness. In every Syrian church there is a veil across the sanctuary, representing the veil in the temple of Jerusalem. The Sanctuary itself is called the "holy of holies" and the altar the "Throne" where God himself appears in the New covenant with His people. One of the principal themes of the liturgy is repentance which is always accompanied by the awareness of God's great love and mercy.

The Trinitarian emphasis in this liturgy is firm and impressive. What is distinctive in it is, perhaps, the manner.

36 THE SYRIAC LITURGY

of addressing prayers directly to Christ “our God”. The emphasis on the divinity of Christ, is also seen in the immense veneration given to Mary “The Mother of God”. The devotion to Mary is derived entirely from the mediation on the fact that the person whom Mary brought forth was truly God. Together with devotion to the Mother of God is the devotion to the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs as members of the mystical Body of Christ. The saints of the Old Testament are, like the Apostles, felt as living witnesses to mystery of Christ. The feeling for the departed, waiting for the resurrection at the second coming of Christ, is very strong in this liturgy. Christ descends to Sehol to proclaim the message of salvation to all the dead and to raise up “our father Adam and our mother Eve.”

What is most evident about the Syrian Liturgy is its Biblical background. It is as though the liturgy sprang from the same soil as the Old and the New Testament. In the words of Father Bede Griffiths, “the Syrian liturgy is a perfect example of that living theology, a theology based throughout on the Biblical revelation and conceived not as an abstract system of thought but as an imaginative representation of an ever present reality, which is what the church is seeking today.”

A word about the Church Calendar prevailing in this liturgical tradition will be of relevance here.

THE WEEKLY CYCLE:

Every Sunday is a commemoration of the Resurrection of Christ. The observance of Sunday is intended to bring this great mystery to mind at the beginning of every week, so that the Christian may continually renew the memory of the Resurrection and strive to live week by week in its light. But the other days in the week have each of them, a special significance in this liturgical tradition and the breviary is quite expressive of this. Monday and Tuesday are days of ‘repentance’. Wednesday is kept always in honour of the Mother of God. Every Wednesday calls to reflect on the place of Mary in the economy of Salvation, on her divine Motherhood. Thurs-

day is kept in memory of the Apostles, to whom we owe the original preaching of the Gospel. With the Apostles the Syrian Church also associates the Prophets of the Old Testament who prepared the way for the Gospel and Martyrs who lay down their lives in witness to it. Friday is the commemoration of the Cross recalling the mystery of the passion of Christ by which we were redeemed and the victory over death which was won on the Cross. Finally Saturday is dedicated to the departed especially to the departed priests through whom the ministry of the Gospel is continued; thus at the end of the week our thoughts are turned to the end of this life and to the Second coming of Christ which will bring the general resurrection.

THE YEARLY CYCLE:

The Syrian ecclesiastical year begins on the Sunday nearest to the last day of October; it is the Sunday of the Consecration of the Church. The next Sunday is of the Renewal (Dedication) of the Church. Thus we have set before us from the beginning the mystery of the Church as the Bride of Christ. Then follow the Sundays of Annunciation, namely the Annunciation of Zacharias, the Annunciation of the Mother of God, the Visitation, the Birth of the Baptist, the Revelation to Joseph and the Sunday before the Nativity. On the day following Christmas day is celebrated the "Praises of the Mother of God" and on the day after Epiphany (the feast of the Baptism of our Lord) the "Praises of John the Baptist". There are three to eight Sundays called "Sundays of the Baptized". The Supplication of Nineve, a fast, commemorating the preaching of Jonas, is on the Monday Tuesday and Wednesday of the third week before the beginning of Lent. The next Friday is the commemoration of departed Priests, and second that of the departed, the third that of deceased stranger; in some places these are observed on the Sundays following the Fridays.

The first Sunday of the seven of Lent is the Sunday of Cana or of the Entrance of the Fast, the Quinquagesima. On the first Saturday of Lent is the feast of Ephraim and Theodore. The fourth Wednesday is Mid-lent with the commemoration of the Exaltation of the Cross and the Penitence of Abgar, king of Edessa. The Sixth Friday is the 'Friday of the forty' i.e. the

fortieth day of the fast, and the next day the Saturday of Lazarus. Palm Sunday is the feast of Hosannas, Holy week is that of the Passion, the last three days of which are known as the Pasch of the Mysteries, Great Friday of the Crucifixion and Saturday of Announcements.

The week following the Rassurrection is that 'of the White'; its Friday is the Friday of the Confessors, a feast of All Saints. Low Sunday is styled New Sunday and Paschal-tide the Days of Pentecost. The Sunday after Ascension is so named. The Friday after Pentecost is Golden Friday, on which the healing of the lame man by St. Peter and St. John is. commemorated; it takes its title from 'silver and gold have I none'. The first Sunday after Pentecost is the first of the seven Sundays of the apostles, and the eighth the first of the Sundays of Summer which end before Holy Cross day. The two series together form the Sundays after Pentecost, 13 to 17 in number. Another arrangement gives Sundays upto twelve after Pentecost, then the Sunday after the Transifiguration, and four after the Assumption. The year ends with six or seven Sundays of the Cross, namely those following Holy Cross day on 14th September.

CHAPTER III

East Syrian Liturgy

1. The East Syrian Liturgy is the simplest and most archaic known to traditional Christianity. It was evolved, and soon reached its fixed form, in surroundings wherein Jewish influences were strong, where from the earliest times Christian communities had a semi-monastic organization, and in an area beyond the Roman World and its exuberant civilization. The territories of the Catholicate of Seleucia were never Christian; in Persia, in central Asia and India, the relatively small Christian communities were all but lost in an ocean of infidels. Whatever be the factors that conditioned this liturgy, its austerity is striking: the celebration begins with the Lord's prayer, there are biblical readings and rhythmical homilies, rather, like commentaries or glosses, with no rhetorical graces, and these alternate with lengthy monotonous psalmody, the whole taking place in front of a plain wall, with one door, cutting off the sight of the altar. As in synagogues, the old churches were dominated by the *Bema* a large platform in the middle of the building: this was the clergy's place and the lessons were read from it. Secarmental rites are reduced to a minimum and there is little external ceremony, not even in Holy week, when the rest of Christendom is using those evocative observances that originated in Jerusalem. It is a liturgy of meditation, of listening to the word, of quietness and simplicity..

2. A detailed analyses of the "Chaldean" (East syrian) liturgy is given below:

TECHNICAL TERMS

G'hanta, 'inclination' — a prayer said secretly whilst inclining. The first few words at the beginning and at the

end are repeated. See also the rubric at the 'first g'hanta' in the account of the Mass.

Kushapa, 'supplication' — a prayer said secretly. These prayers are no part of the original liturgy, as may be seen from their absence in the order of Baptism which is constructed on the model of the Mass.

Onitha — an anthem consisting of verses from the psalms and the Gloria Patri farced with stanzas.

Qanona, 'canon' or ekphonesis. Thus the ending of a prayer or formula said aloud. The responsory 'Aweful art thou' is styled Qanon.

Unaya — a responsory consisting of a theme repeated with verses in between; also a response or answer.

THE LITURGY

The following account of the Mass is taken from the Chaldean Missal printed at Mosul in 1901, entitled, 'Order of the Mysteries with the three Qudashe [Hallowings] according to the custom of the Holy Church of the East Syrians, who are the Chaldeans'. I understand that though certain rubrics are obsolete, a priest would be in order if he observed them. The numbers in brackets give the pages in Brightman's account of the Nestorian Liturgy in "Liturgies Eastern and Western." The Mosul usage is described.

To understand the reasons for the somewhat complicated ceremonial between the gospel and the first g'hanta it is necessary to have recourse to the ancient commentators, Narsai (fifth century), Abraham bar Lipheh (seventh or eighth century) and 'George of Arbel' (tenth century). Then the bema was a raised platform in the middle of the church, and the first part of the Mass was said there. After the deacons had arranged the oblation on the altar during the first part of the Anthem of the Mysteries, they came down from the sanctuary at the Gloria Patri and escorted the Priest and clergy, after these had washed their hands, from the bema to the san-

ctuary. Immediately after the Creed there followed the proclamation: 'Pray for the memorial of our fathers the katholikoi', and the first g'hanta. The prostrations to the four sides of the bema before the Gloria Patri of the Anthem of the Mysteries (Brightman, op. cit., p. 269) were the preliminaries of the entrance. They have been lost by the Chaldeans, but are observed in the Syro Malabar rite at the solemn Mass called Raza.

The rubrics mention four deacons at least, including him of the apostle and the 'ceremoniar' (natar takhsa). In practice, owing to the paucity of priests, there is usually no deacon. The 'deacon' therefore is the minister. There may be any number of subdeacons, who of course are in minor orders.

The priest in the diakonikon washes his hands and then vests. He then takes the chalice and paten (pilasa, patthora), worships before the altar, places the vessels upon it, the paten on his right, the chalice on his left, and descends. The priest now begins as in the Office 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost for ever. Glory to God in the highest (thrice) and on earth peace and good hope to men at every moment for ever.' The choir answers 'Amen. Bless, O my Lord, our Father, of the majesty of whose glory Heaven and earth are full. Watchers [i. e. angels] and men cry unto thee, Holy, holy, holy art thou. Our Father..... evil, for thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.' The priest: 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost'. Choir: 'From everlasting unto everlasting. Amen and Amen. Our Father who art in heaven unto thee, Holy', and the priest ends it with: 'Holy, holy art thou' (252). Then follows the Prayer before the Marmitha and the marmitha or section of the psalter of the day (253) This on ordinary days consists of Psalm 15, Domine quis habitabit', Psalm 150 'Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius', and Psalm 117, 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes', alternate verses being said by priest and minister.

The priest now goes up to the altar and says 'Halleluia, halleluia, yea, halleluia' at sung Masses, and then the Prayer before the Anthem of the Sanctuary ('onitha dh' qanke 253 - 4). This prayer and anthem are omitted on ordinary days. Then comes the Prayer of the Lakhumara (254) and the chant of this name, 'To thee, Lord of all, we give thanks, and thee, Jesus Christ, we glorify; for thou art the quickener of our bodies and thou art the saviour of our souls. (On Sundays and feasts.) It is good to give thanks to the Lord and to hymn thine exalted name (or on ordinary days, I have washed mine hands in purity and have encompassed thine altar, O Lord). To thee, Lord of all, etc. Glory. From everlasting. To thee, Lord of all', etc. When this chant is begun the veil of the altar is opened, and while it is being sung the priest offers the bukhra ('first-born', the bread) on the paten, pours wine crosswise into the chalice and then water and once more wine. The first three prayers are identical with the Maronite (renaudot, "Liturg. Orient. Collectio," II, pp. 3,4: 'Deus qui sacrificium Abel', 'Etiam hoc vinum' and 'Hanc etiam aquam'.) The last formula is 'Water is mixed with wine and wine with water, and may the two be one, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost for ever' (251). The altar bread is like the Western in shape, but of leavened bread, with some salt in it. After the above-mentioned chant and the Prayer of Incense the deacon censes the altar and the bishop thrice, the priest once and then the people, and goes to the diakonikon. Then follows the Prayer of the Trisagion said aloud, and the Trisagion (255), 'Holy God, holy Mighty, holy Immortal, have mercy upon us. Glory. Holy God. From everlasting. Holy God.'

Next comes the Prayer before the Lessons said aloud (255). These, from the O. T., or the Acts, are read on the 'left' side of the step of the sanctuary-door (in the rubric, on the left side of the bema) that is, on our 'epistle-side'. The reader comes from the diakonikon, worships before the altar and is blessed by the priest (255). The reader says aloud: 'Sit ye and be silent. The book of N. Bless, O my Lord'. Another reader comes with the same ceremony; the announcement is 'Be silent. The prophecy of N. Bless, O my Lord'.

The prophecy however may be in the first lesson; the *Praxis* or *Acts*, when read, forms the second. These lessons are read only at sung Masses on Sundays, feasts and memorials, at the noon Mass in the first, fourth and seventh weeks of Lent and during the *Supplication of Ninive*.

The deacon then says 'Stand ye for prayer' and the *Shuraya* ('beginning') of the day (256) is sung, the celebrant beginning the first verse, and those in the *bema* answering with the second. This corresponds with the Byzantine *prokeimenon*. After the Prayer before the Apostle said aloud (256) the reader comes forth from the little door of the *sanctuary* carrying the book of the *epistles*, is blessed by the *bishop* or *priest* (257) and reads the *apostle* on the same step as the lessons but on the 'right' side, our 'gospel-side', saying: 'Amen. Be silent. Paul the apostle. Epistle to N., my brethren. Bless, O my Lord.' During the Prayer before the *Gospel* and a *prayer of incense* (258), both of which are said 'secretly', the deacon sings: 'Halleluia, halleluia' and the *Zumara* of the day (258-9, the West Syrian *hullolo*), and again 'Halleluia'. Then on great days 'Matthew and Mark and Luke and John, may your prayer be a wall to our souls', and they answer in the *sanctuary*, 'Stand we in readiness and hear the holy gospel' (259). The *priest* at the door of the *sanctuary* blesses the people with the *gospel* saying, 'Peace be with you', to which they reply, 'And with thee and with thy spirit' (260). The *priest* reads the *gospel*, beginning 'The Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Chirist. Preaching of N.', the response being 'Glory to Christ our Lord. Amen. Be silent' (260). During the reading lights are carried and *incense* burnt before the *gospel-book*. At the end of the *gospel* the *priest* says 'Glory to God for ever', and the *choir* or *minister* answer, 'Glory to Christ our Lord'. The *bishop* kisses the *text* and the *archdeacon* places it on the *altar*. On certain days the *Anthem* ('*onitha*) of the *Gospel* follows (261).

According to the *rubric* on Sundays, feasts and memorials, the *litany* (*karozutha*) is now said. This consists of three parts. The first begins with 'Stand we fairly all of us in joy and gladness (or, with pain and diligence); let us beseech and say, O our Lord, have mercy on us'. R/. 'O our Lord, have

mercy on us'. Father of mercies and God of all consolation, we beseech thee. R/. 'O our Lord, have mercy on us', and so after each clause (262-3). The second part begins with 'Let us pray. Peace be with us. Let us pray and beseech God the Lord of all', the answer to each petition being 'Amen' (263-6); the doctors mentioned are Gregory, Basil, John Chrysostom, James and Ephraim. The third part commences with supplication and with beseeching we ask for an angel of peace and mercy' (266), each clause being answered with 'From thee, O Lord, it ends with 'Let us commit ourselves and one another to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost', and the reply 'To thee, O Lord our God'. Meanwhile the priest and deacon with the censer go to the beth-gazza; the priest incenses the paten and chalice, places on the paten as many bukhre or breads as he wishes, mixes the cahlice, and places it and the paten on the beth-gazza until the end of the litany (cf. 262). In actual practice the three parts of the litany are said only at the noon Mass of the first, fourth and seventh weeks of Lent outside the sanctuary in the bema, and the first part on every Sunday of Lent inside. The last clause 'Let us commit ourselves', however is said always. The preparation of the paten and chalice nowadays is done, as already stated, during the Lakhumara. The priest now stands in the midst of the sanctuary, or at the foot of the altar, stretching forth his hands and says aloud the prayer 'Lord God mighty' (266, line 27), that is the prayer at the end of the litany, whether this has been said or not. The deacons then say 'Amen. Bless, O my Lord. Bow ye your heads for the imposition of the hand and receive the blessing' (266). The people together with the presbyters incline their heads while the priest recites the imposition of the Hand secretly whilst bowing down. He then rises and when he has gone up to the altar lifts up his voice and completes the prayer (267). Then comes the dismissal of the catechumens, 'Whosoever hath not received baptism, let him depart. Whosoever doth not receive the sign of life, let him depart. Whosoever hath not taken it [i. e., the Mystery] let him depart. Depart, ye hearers, and watch the doors' (267). These clauses are said alternately by the deacon and the priest, or at a high Mass by the two choirs. The priest now washes his hands.

Then is sung the Anthem of the Mysteries ('onitha dh'raze, 267-8), begun in the bema and repeated in the saec-tuary. The rubric prescribes that while it is being sung the inner veil is to be looped up and a priest is to take from the beth-gazsa the chalice in his right hand and the paten in his left and so to go with ministers to the altar, where the celebrant takes them (267); all this, however, is obsolete. In practice, during the anthem the celebrant places the paten on his left palm, crosses his hands, and takes up the chalice in his right hand, and so holding them recites quietly, 'Send we up praise to thy glorious Trinity at every moment for ever'. R/ 'Amen.' The priest continues, 'May Christ, who was sacrificed for our salvation and bade us make memorial of his death and burial and resurrection, receive this sacrifice from our hands by his grace and mercies for ever. Amen.' He then strikes the paten and chalice together three times, saying, 'By thy command (thrice), O our Lord and our God, these glorious and holy and life-giving and divine mysteries are set and ordered upon the propitiatory altar until the coming of our Lord the second time from Heaven; to whom be glory at all times for ever. Amen' (268). He then arranges the mysteries on the altar, the paten on his right and the chalice on his left on the tablitha, and covers them with the veil (shosheppa). He then says aloud, alternately with the choir at a solemn Mass or with the deacon at others, the concluding part of the anthem:

Pr. 'Glory. On the holy altar let there be the memorial of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God'.

Ch. 'From everlasting. Apostles of the Son and lovers of the Only-begotten, pray that there may be tranquillity in the creation.'

Pr. 'Let all the people say Amen and Amen. Thy memorial, O our Father [the saint of the church or of the day] be upon the holy altar with the just who have triumphed and the martyrs who have been crowned.' Or the following: 'Lo! all the departed have fallen asleep upon thine hope that by thy glorious resurrection thou wilt raise them up in glory' (268). The priest descends to the door of the sanctuary or the foot of the altar, worships and says with our hearts sprinkled and

pure from evil conscience may we be accounted worthy to enter the high and exalted holy of holies', etc (270). He then goes up to the door of the sanctuary, worships, rises, turns to the people (in some places), and stretching out his hands begins the Creed, the wording of which differs from the usual Nicene Symbol (270-1); this is continued by the deacon.

36. The deacon or choir then begins the proclamation (Karozutha), Let us pray. Peace be with us. Pray for the memorial of our fathers the katholikoi and the bishops and of all the presbyters and deacons and young men and virgins and of all those who have departed and gone forth from this world in belief of the truth.', etc ending with Bless, O my Lord. And may this oblation be received with openness of face [confidence] and be hallowed by the word of God and by the Holy Ghost, that it be unto us for help and for salvation and for life eternal in the kingdom of Heaven by the grace of Christ' (271-2) it is said slowly so as to cover the following ceremonies to the ekphonesis of the frst g'hanta. Meanwhile the priest turns towards the altar and offers three metanoeae or inclinations, at each drawing nearer, saying secretly the prayer, 'Glory to thee, finder of the lost', etc. (271, styled in the Second and Third Anaphoras' the first gighla') When he reaches the altar, he worships, rises and kisses the altar in the middle. He again worships, rises, and kisses the right horn, and similarly the left horn. He then kisses it in the middle and on the right and left, and turns to the deacon and says, 'Bless' O my Lord. My brethren, pray for me that this oblation be accomplished at my hands.' The reply to this (272) is obsolete. He then proceeds with the kushapa, 'Yea, O our Lord and our God' (273-4) secretly.

The priest now stands and kisses the altar and recites the first g'hanta of the Apostles or of the Second or Third Anaphora, as the case may be, not stretching out of his hands (274). 'And know that here it is not right for him to stretch out his hands at all in that he has not received confidence. And in the other g'hanta let him stretch out his hands because he has already acquired confidence. And in every g'hanta he worships before the altar in its beginning and at its end. And let his position be distant from the altar as it were one cubit

and likewise (the space) between his hands, and let him bow his head. And at the end of every g'hanta let him kiss the midst of the altar.' This first g'hanta is said inaudibly and corresponds in sense with the West Syrian Prayer of the Veil; it is preceded by an appeal for prayers and its answer (274), which last is now obsolete. The ending is said aloud (qanana=ekphonesis), during which the priest crosses himself; the people answer 'Amen'. The sign of the cross is a large one; the priest lifts his hand with palm extended, so that the fingers appear above the head, brings it down a little below his breast, and carries it to the right and left slightly beyond the shoulders. By this it is understood that the people partake in the blessing. This is done in all signings. So the rubric, but in practice the sign of the cross is now made from left to right. If the patriarch, metropolitan or bishop be present, and in cathedral churches, the priest says the qanona inaudibly, only raising his voice at 'and for ever and ever' by way of honour to the pontiff.

The priest then turns towards the people and blesses them, saying, 'Peace be with you', to which they reply, 'And with thee and with thy spirit (275). The deacon says 'Give the peace to one another in the love of Christ' (281), and they give the peace. The deacon first kisses the priest's hand and then gives the peace to the rest of the deacons and the people. At the door of the sanctuary the chief layman places his hands joined between those of the deacon, carries them to his mouth and his forehead, and conveys the peace to the others in the same way. Meanwhile, according to the rubrics, the deacon reads the dyptichs (dyopatkhin) or Book of the Living and the Dead (275; but misplaced by Brightman). This practice, however, has long been obsolete both among Chaldeans, and Nestorians, though the conclusion of the dyptichs 'And for the katholikoi and bishops and presbyters and deacons and all the company of those who are departed from the congregation of the church', etc., (281-2) is still said.

The deacon now admonishes the people, 'Let us all give thanks and beseech and implore the Lord in purity and groaning. Stand fairly and look on those things which are being done, the fearful mysteries which are being hallowed' etc. (282). Mean-

while the priest says a kushapa (282) and then lifts the veil and winds it round the chalice and paten. A secret prayer of incense (282) follows and the altar is incensed. The priest now says aloud the qanona, signing over the mysteries (283). 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all now and at all times and for ever and ever. R/ Amen.' ¶ 'On high be your minds.' R/ 'With thee, God of Abraham and Issac and Israel, glorious King.' ¶ 'The oblation to God the Lord of all is offered.' R/ '[It is] meet and right'. 'And he lifts up his hands at every qanona in which the word Now occurs.'

The priest kneels and says a kushapa (283) secretly, then rises, kisses the altar, and with outstretched hands says quietly the g'hanta with its qanona or ekphonesis, the two corresponding with our preface (283-4). The people answer 'Holy, holy, holy Lord God mighty, of whose praises Heaven and earth are full. Hosanna in the highest. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is he who came and cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest' (284). At each 'Holy' the priest makes a metanoea before the altar; the cymbals are clashed. The 'Hosanna' is omitted during the whole of Lent up to the feast of Hosannas, that is, Palm Sunday.

The priest then worships and says a kushapa (284) secretly with hands extended, and after 'Bless, O my Lord (thrice). My brethren, pray for me' (284), worships and proceeds quietly whilst inclining with the g'hanta (285), 'And with these heavenly hosts we give thanks unto thee, O my Lord (twice) [and we bless God the Word, hidden offspring from thy bosom, who, being in thy likeness and the brightness which is from thee and the image of thy being, thought this not robbery to be thine equal, but emptied himself and took the likeness of a servant and became perfect man with a rational and intelligent and immortal soul and with a mortal human body, and was born of a woman and was under the law that he might redeem those that were under the law, and he left unto us the memorial of our salvation, this mystery which we offer before thee]. (Aloud) For when the time came when he

was about to suffer and draw nigh unto death, in the night in which he was betrayed he took bread in his holy hands (the priest takes the paten in both his hands) and lifted up his eyes unto thee, God his Father Almighty, and gave thanks unto thee and blessed † and brake and gave to his disciples, saying, Take eat ye all of it, This is my Body which for you is broken for the forgiveness of sins. (They answer 'Amen'. And the priest worships and rises and proceeds.) Likewise after they had supped he took in his holy hands the pure chalice (the priest holds the chalice in his hands) and gave thanks to thee and blessed † and gave to his disciples, saying, Take, drink ye all of it, This is my Blood of the new eternal testament, the mystery of faith, which for you and for many is shed for the forgiveness of sins. (And they answer 'Amen'. And he worships and rises and says) Whensoever ye do these things, my memory ye are remembering. (And they answer 'Amen. We believe and confess.'')

'(And he worships and rises and proceeds quietly.) And as we have been commanded, we are gathered together, even we thy weak and frail and miserable servants, for thou hast wrought in us great grace which cannot be repaid in that thou didst put on our humanity that thou mightest quicken us by thy godhead and didst exalt our lowliness and didst raise up our fall and didst make alive again our state of death and didst forgive our debts and didst justify our sinfulness and didst enlighten our understanding, and didst overcome our enemies, O our Lord and our God:: And thou didst grant victory to the weakness of our frail nature in the abundant mercies of our grace. Qanona (= ekphonesis). And for all thine helps and graces towards us let us send up to thee praise and honour and thanksgiving and worship now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen. (And he signs over the mysteries).' The people answer 'Amen'. At the words 'he took bread' the deacon strikes the cymbals thrice.

The deacon now sings, 'In your minds pray ye. Peace be with us', and the choir adds the qulasa ('praise'), 'Lift up your eyes to the heights above', etc. while the priest says various kushapas with extended hands (285-6). These are

intercessions. In the first mention is made of 'the ever-virgin my Lady Mary the blessed' and of 'our holy fathers Mar N., pope of Rome, and Mar N., Katholikos Patriarch, and Mar N., metropolitan (or bishop)'. A proper one is for use in Masses for the departed. The priest worships and, after 'Bless, O my Lord (thrice) My brethren, pray for me', proceeds with the g'hanta of intercession quietly, ending with all the children of the holy Catholic Church, those who have been signed with the living sign of holy baptism', when he 'signs the throne from below upwards (i. e., on the altar from west to east) and from right to left', whilst bowing (286-7).

The anamnesis is now resumed (287), 'We also, O my Lord, thy weak and frail and miserable servants, who are gathered together in thy name and stand before thee at this time and have received by tradition the example which is from thy Son, rejoicing and glorifying and exalting and remembering, perform this great and fearful and holy and life-giving and divine mystery of the passion and death and burial and resurrection of our Lord and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. (He takes the pall from off the chalice, lifts up his hands on high, and extends them over the mysteries; the deacon says, "In silence and fear be ye standing and praying. peace be with us.") And may there come, O my Lord, thine holy Spirit and rest upon this oblation of thy servants and bless it and hallow it that it may be unto us, O my Lord' for the pardon of offences and for forgiveness of sins and for the great hope of the resurrection from the dead and for the new life in the kingdom of Heaven with all who have been pleasing before thee. And for all this great and wondrous dispensation towards us let us give thanks unto thee and glorify thee without ceasing in thy Church saved by the precious blood of thy Christ :: with open mouths and unveiled faces.' The prayer ends with the qanona, 'Sending up praise and honour and thanksgiving and worship to thy living and fife-giving name now and at all times and for ever and ever'. The priest signs over the mysteries and the people answer 'Amen'. This is the end of the variable anaphora (288.)

At solemn Masses the choir now sings some verses of Psalm 51, 'Miserere'. Meanwhile the priest offers a metanoea

before the altar but without kneeling, and after two prayers (288) said inclining, recites Psalm 51, inserting after each half verse 'O King Christ, have mercy upon me', and after each complete verse 'O King Christ, glory to thy name', and then Psalm 123, '*Ad te levavi miserere nostri*' and with 'I have washed my hands in purity and have encompassed thine altar, O Lord', followed by a prayer of incense (289). 'And he begins the order of signing and breaking'. He first turns towards the deacon who incenses him, while he says aloud with hands extended a prayer (289) to which the deacon replies 'Amen. Bless, O my Lord.' He then turns to the altar and with hands stretched out says 'Bless, O my Lord (thrice). The mercifulness of thy grace, O our Lord and our God, bringeth us nigh unto these glorious and holy and lifegiving and divine Mysteries though we be unworthy', the deacon answering 'Though in truth we are unworthy. This is said thrice: at the end of each recitation the priest folds his hands on his breast in the form of a cross and kisses the altar in the middle, on the right and on the left (289). He then worships, rises, and then takes the uppermost bukhra (Host) which is in the middle of the paten in his hands and lifts it upwards, looking up and saying, 'Praise to thine holy name, O our Lord Jesus Christ, and worship to thy sovereignty at all times for ever. Amen. For he is the living and lifegiving bread which came down from Heaven and gave life to all the world in its entirety. Those who eat die not, and those who receive it by it are saved and by it are pardoned and by it live for ever. Amen.' The choir: 'Amen'. Next he kisses the bukhra crosswise, from top to bottom and from right to left, but without touching it with his lips, saying. 'Glory to thee, O my Lord (thrice) for thine unspeakable gift to us for ever. Amen.' Choir 'Amen' (290). He holds the bukhra in his hands and says 'We draw nigh in belief of the truth of thy name to these holy Mysteries and we break by thy grace and we sign by thy mercifulness the Body and Blood of our lifegiver our Lord Jesus Christ, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, for ever,. Choir: 'Amen' (290). Whilst naming the Trinity he breaks the bukhra into two halves. He then places the half which is in his left hand in its place on

the paten, with the broken edge facing the chalice, that is the north, and with the half in his right hand signs the Blood from east to west and from north to south, dipping one third. The formula is: 'The precious Blood is signed with the life-giving Body of our Lord Jesus Christ in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost for ever' (291). Choir: 'Amen.' He signs the half of the Host in the paten in the same way with the half in his hand, saying 'The holy Body is signed with the propitiatory Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the name', etc (291) Choir: 'Amen'. He then places the half which is in his hand on the paten upon the other half, the broken edge of the upper half being turned towards the west, that is towards himshelf. Next he worships rises and lifts up the chalice in both hands, saying secretly, 'Set apart and hallowed and perfected and completed and united and commingled and attached and sealed are these glorious and holy and lifegiving and divine Mysteries one to another in the worshipful and glorious name of the glorious Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, that they may be unto us, O my Lord, for pardon of offences and forgiveness of sins and for the great hope of the resurrection from the dead and for the new life in the kingdom of Heaven, now and for all times and for ever and ever. Amen' (292). He now loosens, that is places on one side, the veil which was folded around the paten and chalice and says two prayers, 'Glory to thee, O our Lord Jesus Christ', and 'Glory to thee, God the Father' (292-3). A short hymn such as 'I am the Bread' (292) may be sung immediately after the second elevation.

He worships, rises and kisses the altar in the middle 'and cries with a loud voice like one announcing joyful tidings', saying, with hands extended, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all now and at all times and for ever and ever', making a large sign of the cross upon himself, 'because this signing is made on behalf of the people although upon himself'. R/ 'Amen' (293).

The deacon or choir proclaims 'Let us all with fear and reverence draw nigh unto the mysteries of the precious Body and Blood of our Saviour with pure heart and true faith', etc

(293-4). Meanwhile the priest with extended hands says a prayer (293) and breaks the Body and places coals [particles] on the table [paten] for the communicants. The diaconal proclamation ends with a short dialogue, the people answering each clause with 'O Lord, pardon the sins and shortcomings of thy servants'; on its completion the deacon says, 'Let us pray. Peace be with us' (294-5). The priest then recites in secret, whilst inclining, the Prayer introducing the Lord's Prayer (295). This is ended aloud, the priest rising to his full height and extending his hands, after which the people recite the Lord's Prayer with 'For thine is the kingdom', etc. The embolism is said in an audible voice, the hands stretched forth, and at its end at 'Now (and at all times)' the priest signs himself; the people answer 'Amen' (296). Then comes 'Peace be with you', and the response 'And with thee and with thy spirit'. The priest says 'The holy thing befitteh the holy in perfection', to which is answered 'One holy Father, one holy Son, one holy Spirit. Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen' (296).

On feasts of the Lord this is immediately followed by a responsory or qanon, "Aweful art thou, O God most high, from thine holy place for ever and ever. Blessed is the honour of the Lord from his place." The veil is drawn, and those within the sanctuary standing before the altar begin 'Aweful art thou' quietly; they then repeat it in a loud voice, and the people in the nave then repeat it. Then follow verses, after each of which is repeated 'Aweful art thou'. When the qanon is finished the veil is drawn back (297).

The deacon now says 'Praise ye the living God' (298), and they answer 'Praise to him in his Church and upon us his mercies} and his grace at all times and moments'. Those in the bema now sing the Responsory of the Bema (*'unaya dh'bem'*) This consists of the theme and then verses, each followed by the theme. While this or rather while 'Praise to him' is being chanted, the priest joins the two halves of the bukhra and holding them in his left hand over the chalice standing on the altar turns half round and shows the Host to the people saying inaudibly, 'O Son, who gavest us thy Body and Blood,

give us life in thy kingdom', or else 'Lamb of the living God who takest away the sin of the world, forgive us, O my Lord Lamb... hear us, O my Lord Lamb... have mercy on us. The last formula is of Western origin, but curiously the form is that used in the litanies and not that of the Mass.

The priest now prepares for his communion. He first stands a little away from the altar, turns to the people and asks their prayers inaudibly. He then approaches the altar and after two short prayers in secret (for the second see 304, line 26) communicates himself. The Responsory of the Bema now being finished, the deacon cries 'Bless, O my Lord', and the priest lifts up his hand and makes the sign of the cross over the people, saying in an audible voice, 'The gift of the grace of our lifegiver our Lord Jesus Christ be accomplished in mercy with us all', to which they answer, for ever and ever. Amer (298). During the communion of the clergy and people a responsory, consisting of theme and verses, is sung by deacons and subdeacons in the sanctuary and may be answered by those in the bema (299, lines 12 ff.) and if the communion be prolonged other verses as well. The priest carries the paten in both hands and turns towards the presbyters and deacons standing before the altar and wearing stoles, and puts a particle into the mouth of each, saying, 'The Body of our Lord to the modest priest (deacon of God) for forgiveness of offences' or 'Spiritual banquet for life eternal' (298). He then goes down to the door of the sanctuary or beyond it, preceded by lights, and communicates the people, putting a 'coal' into the mouth of each and saying, 'The body of our Lord to the pious believer for forgiveness of offences'. The clergy and people receive standing.

Towards the end of the communion is sung, very quickly, the *teshbohta* (praise or canticle) of thanksgiving, of ecclesiastical composition (299—301), and the priest returns the paten to the altar, and as he goes up the deacon proclaims 'Let us all therefore, who, by the gift of the grace of the Holy Ghost have drawn near and have been accounted worthy and have partaken in the reception of these glorious and holy and life giving and divine mysteries, give thanks together and glorify

God who gave them', and the people answer 'Glory to him for his unspeakable gift' (301). The deacon then says, 'Let us pray. Peace be with us', and the priest says aloud two Prayers of Thanksgiving (302). This is followed by the Lord's Prayer said aloud as in the beginning, namely, 'Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed by thy name, thy kingdom come. Holy, holy, holy art thou... Our Father who art in Heaven .. Holy, holy, holy art thou', with 'Bless, O my Lord', at the end. The priest now comes to the door of the sanctuary and standing with his face towards the people blesses them, saying in an audible voice the hutama or 'seal' (303-04).

The ablutions accompanied by three prayers (304-05) follow. The priest consumes what remains of the Blessed Sacrament if there be no tabernacle (*beth-qurbana*, 'house of the oblation'). He then transfers the fragments on the paten to the chalice, drinks wine poured into the chalice, and washes his fingers over the chalice with wine and water which he drinks. The deacon may now pour wine and water over the paten; if so, the priest purifies it, pours the water into the chalice and drinks it. He then wipes with the purifier (*m'khab ranitha*) his fingers, the paten and the chalice, arranges the vessels, comes down with them, saying the 'seal' (305), and goes to the diaconikon.

NOTE ON THE OMISSION OF THE RECITAL OF THE INSTITUTION IN THE ANAPHORA OF THE APOSTLES

The post-sanctus in the Anaphora of Theodore and in that of Bickell's sixth century fragment (Brightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-15, revised by Dom R. H. Connolly in *Oriens Christianus*, N. S. XII, 1925) consists of two prayers, and thus it is possible, though perhaps not very probable, that the one containing the account of the Last Supper has dropped out in the Anaphora of the Apostles; that of Nestorius has only one prayer. The S. P. C. K. translation of 1893, made from the Syriac of the Anaphora of the Apostles printed by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission, inserts the account of the Supper immediately before the ekphonesis 'And for all thine helps', and adds in a footnote 'It is thought that they [viz. the words of institution]

were always recited, and it is at this part of the service that they are found in the other East Syrian liturgies'. This is the usual explanation. But if the words of our Lord were recited, there could have been no reason for not writing them; they occur in the other two anaphoras, and invoking the 'discipline of the secret', as is sometimes done in order to get out of the difficulty, is a counsel of despair. It is certain that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were not said by the Nestorians, as is proved by their insertion, of all places, in the middle of the fraction in the Mass-book of the Malabar Syrians and in that of Joseph I in 1697. In the case of Malabar this insertion was not made by the Synod of Diamper at all, but by a bishop sent by John Sulaqa or by one of his successors. The following formula is found in the text of the Mass as it was before the Diamper revision, annexed to the acts of the synod: *Gloria nomini tuo sancto... vivunt in aeternum* (as in the 1901 Missal). *Dominus noster Jesus Christus in illa nocte qua tradebatur accepit panem hunc sanctum in sanctas ac puras manus suas et elevavit oculos suos in caelum et gratias egit Deo Patri omnium rerum creatori et benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis et dixit: Accipite et comedite ex hoc pane omnes vos, hoc est in veritate corpus meum. Similiter postquam caenavit accepit hunc calicem manibus suis puris et gratias egit et benedixit et dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite omnes vos ex hoc calice quotiescumque enim comederitis panem hunc et biberitis hunc calicem mei memoriam recoletis. Hic est in veritate calix sanguinis mei qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in debitorum propitiacionem et in peccatorum remissionem, et hoc erit vobis pignus in saecula saeculorum.*

The formula is not derived from the Latin rite, at least immediately. *Calix sanguinis mei* is Roman, but occurs also in various Maronite anaphoras (Renaudot, *op. cit.*, II pp. 135, 156, 164).

The Chaldean missals of Joseph I of 1697 (*ib.*, II. p. 593) and of 1767 also have the institution at the fraction, but not exactly in the same position as in Malabar, being inserted before and not after 'Praise to thine holy name'. The formula in that of 1767 begins 'Glory to thee, O God the Father, who

didst send thine only-begotten Son for our salvation. And he on the day before his passion took bread in his holy hands' (as in the 1901 Missal) '... For this is my body. And in the same manner after they had supped he took in his pure hands this pure chalice .. For this is the chalice of my Blood of the new eternal Testament, it is the mystery of faith, which for you .. sins. Whensoever ... remembering.' From 'And he' to 'sins' is taken directly from the Maronite form now in use.

It can be argued quite plausibly that the recital of the institution never existed in the Anaphora of the Apostles. Its absence can be accounted for by the Eastern doctrine that the consecration is effected by the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and indeed in some more recent Jacobite anaphoras for the same reason, though the account of the Supper has been retained, the actual words of institution have been suppressed, as for example in the Anaphora of Dionysius bar Salibi; this also seems to be the case in Bickell's fragment above referred to. This view implies that the Anaphora of the Apostles in its present state is not of the extreme antiquity commonly attributed to it. Parts, no doubt, are most ancient, such as the very undeveloped epiklesis, the most simple in any liturgy now in use.

QUESTIONS

(The Answers should be brief and to the point. They should reach the Director, S.C.C., latest by 8th February 1990)

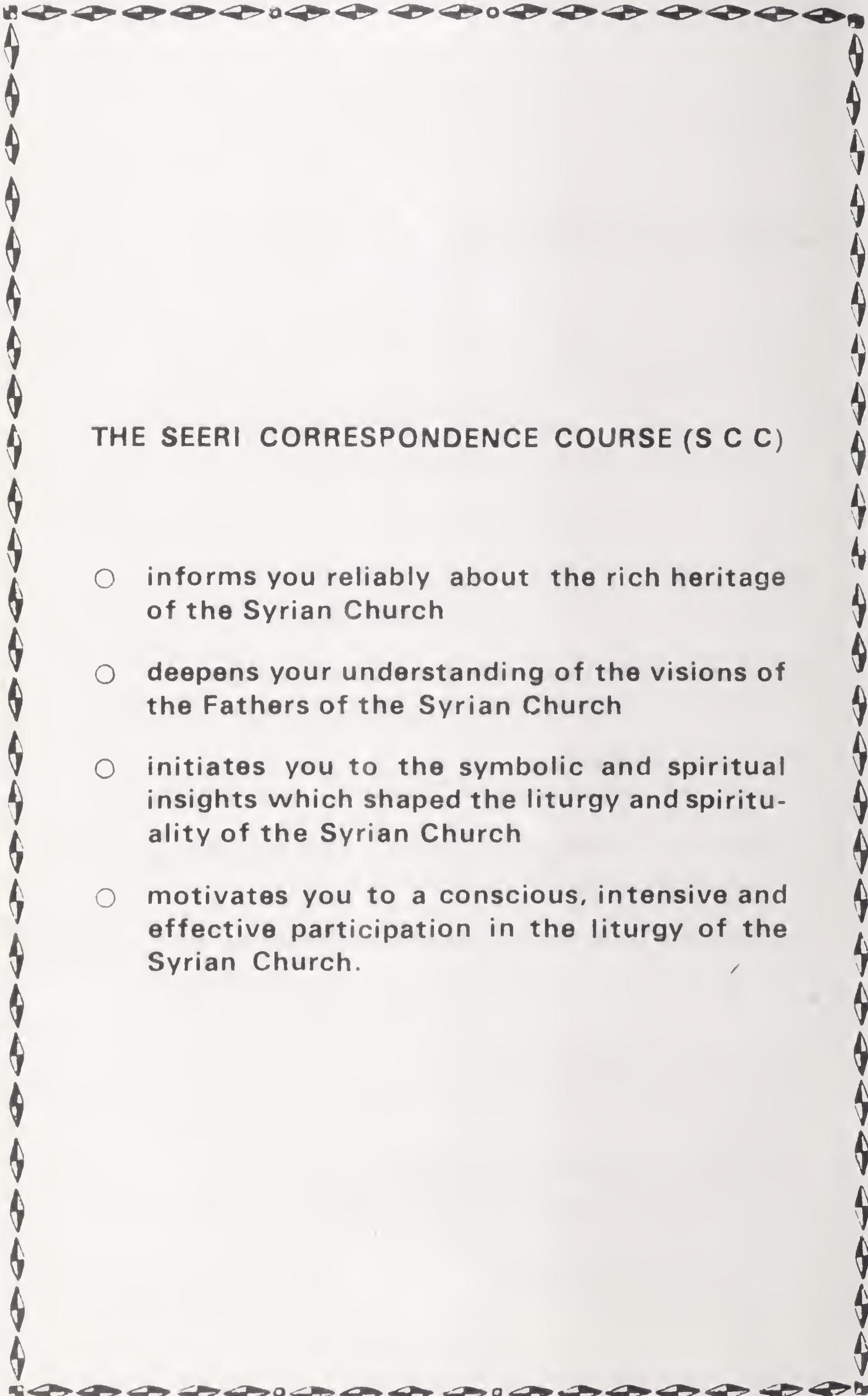
1. What are the liturgical groups of the East?
2. Define the following terms:
Hussoyo; Proem; M'hassyono hokhil; Sedhro; Qolo; Etro;
Eqbo; M'anitho; Huttomo; teshmeshto; G'hanta; Kushapa;
Onitha; Qanona; Unaya
3. Give a brief account of the West Syriac Liturgy.
4. Give a brief account of the East Syriac Liturgy.
5. From the analysis of the West syrian liturgy and the East Syrian liturgy point out the differences between them.

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